incidence of unemployment. I am not saying that we have solved all the problems of our country, but I would respectfully submit that if you look at the situation that prevailed ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री दिग्विजय सिंह : आपकी बगल में जो मंत्री जी बैठे हैं इन्होंने सवेरे कहा था।

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH: If you look at the situation that prevailed four years ago, we have made progress in all these areas... *(Interruptions)*...In 1991-92, according to the Planning Commission figures....*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Order please. Listen to him. ..*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH:...the increase in employment was three million people. In the next two years...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त: आई एम सॉरी, सदर साहिब, व सेम साइकिल हैज स्टार्टेड। हमें अफसोस है कि हमारे पास तो अब कोई चारा बचा नहीं है..**(व्यवधान)** सिवाय इसके कि हम मजम्मत के तौर पर वाक आउट कर जाएं...**(व्यवधान)** हम प्रोटेस्ट करते हुए वाक आउट करना चाहते हैं।

[जनाब सिकन्दर बख्त: आई एम सॉरी - सदर साहब - दी सेम सायकिल हेज स्टार्टेड हमें अफसोस है कि हमारे पास तो अब कोई चारा बचा नहीं है ... "मदाखलत" ... सिवाय इसके कि हम मजम्मत के तौर पर वाक आउट कर जाएं ... "मदाखलत" ... हम प्रोटेस्ट करते हुए वाक आउट करना चाहते हैं।]

[तत्पश्चात् माननीय सदस्य सदन का त्याग कर गए]

श्री दिगिवज सिंह: अगर यह गवर्नमेंट की राय है, सवेरे कुछ, शाम को कुछ — 11 बजे इन्होंने कुछ कहा, शाम को कुछ कहा..**(व्यवधान)**...अगर यह हाउस की हालत है तो हम वाक आउट करते हैं।

(तत्पश्चात् माननीय सदस्य सदन का त्याग कर गए)

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: We are walking out...*(Interruptions)*..

(At this stage some hon. Members left the Chamber)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, in the morning we had a statement on the unemployment problem. ...*(Interruptions)*...Hon'ble Minister is contradicting that statement.... *(Interruptions)*... This is one Government. I think the hon. Finance Minister knowingly or unkowingly is covering up the truth. Therefore, as a protest, we are walking out... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SATISH AGARWAL): Everybody has left.. *(Interruptions)*...Only you are here. ...*(Interruptions)*...Sometimes it is also a parliamentary strategy.

(At this stage some hon'ble Members left the Chamber)

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

On the Situation in Jammu and Kashmir —contd.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S.B. CHAVAN): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I must first express my regret that when the debate was on, since I was busy in the other House, I could not be present but our officers and also my colleagues have taken note of the points raised by hon. Members. To the extent possible, I will try to explain the Government's position so that there is no ambiguity on any issue which is being discussed on the floor of the House. Sir, again I have to repeat the same appeal which I made last time, that this Jammu and Kashmir issue will have to be treated as a national issue. Our approach to the problem cannot be partisan and a message has to go out of this House that the Indian Parliament is unanimous

*[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

in its opinion that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India whatever the attempts made by any country, whether it is Pakistan or, for that matter, all those who are trying to support Pakistan in its proxy war they should get a correct idea as to the feeling of the people of India. Sir, a point was raised about holding a meeting again with all the leaders of the political parties in which Dr. Farooq Abdullah and some other leaders should also participate. I have no objection. We can have a meeting of all the leaders of the political parties and also some elements who, in fact, are interested in having a considered view on bringing about peace and normalcy in this area. Sir, at the outset let me say that excepting Bharatiya Janata Party, all others have supported the change in the nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister. I would request hon. the Leader of the Opposition to kindly bear in mind that there are certain provisions made in the Constitution itself. If you go through articles 370 and 371, you will find that special accommodation was provided because there is a special political background in which those problems were to be solved by the country. We have special provisions for North-Eastern States, we have special provisions for Maharashtra and Gujarat, we have special provisions for Andhra Pradesh. What we are doing in respect of Jammu and Kashmir is not something new. My only request to the Opposition would be to kindly appreciate that there are certain basic and difficult problems due to which certain things have to be contemplated in order to see that the people of Jammu and Kashmir are able to feel confident which is what we would like to achieve in that area. Now, I will merely request them to kindly bear in mind that whenever we talk of elections, people from across the borders, specially Pakistan, have been trying to create greater violence. They are doing it almost on a regular basis by sending a large number of people who are foreign mercenaries. They are coming here and indulging in voilence trying to spread false rumours. They are spreading hatred and damaging religious structures in order to create a feeling of disunity among different sections of the society. But fortunately for us, in Jammu and Kashmir, in spite of all the efforts that they have made so far, they could not succeed. In this connection I would refer to the Charar-e-Sharief incident where the shrine was burnt by the foreign mercenaries.

In spite of the attempt made by them to create a feeling of illwill by burning this shrine, they could not succeed. Today, there is some very good news. People of different religions are trying to come together. Masjids are being constructed by people belonging to another religion. Mandirs are being constructed by people belonging to a totally different religion. This is the kind of atmosphere developing for which Jammu and Kashmir has, in fact, been known. This, definitely, gives an encouraging signal that in spite of the efforts made by certain people to create a feeling of hatred in that area, they could not succeed in their attempt.

Sir, right from 1947, they have been doing their level best to create a feeling that because people of a certain religious denomination happen to be in a majority in that area, they have a definite claim on them. Three times they fought a war, but they lost. Now, it is a kind of proxy war that is being waged by them.

I would respectfully submit that we will have to look at Karachi. All the Mujahideens have become the victims...

THE LEADER OF OPPOSITION (SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT) Mohajirs, Mr. Minister; not Mujahideens.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I am sorry. You know better. You can, possibly, give the appropriate word.

These people have become refugees now in their own country. They could not get themselves assimilated so far. Thousands of people have been shot

dead. These were the very people who were reaponsible for the creation of Pakistan. This is what is happening to them. Therefore, when, in the name of religion, this is what they have demonstrated, they have no right to claim that they are treating all people on an equal footing. This is a kind of lesson which everyone of us should try to understand.

Fortunately, we have been following, basically, a certain policy. The secular polity is the base of all the things that we have been doing in this country. And we have been proved right, in spite of the efforts made by certain people to create a feeling of illwill in our society.

The next point which I would like to submit for the consideration of the House is this. I have said about the special provisions of the Constitution. I have referred to article 370 and others. Let me now touch upon another issue. Some hon. Members referred to the security situation and the kind of violence that is being created there. That also, to some extent, I have spoken about.

In fact, Sir, this was considered to be a religious war; what they call *Jihad*. But I am more than certain that the people, at large, are fully convinced that there is no question of any kind of a religious feeling in this. It is, pure and simple, extortion, criminalisation, and also misbehaviour with the womenfolk. That is why there is, definitely, a feeling among all sections of the people that 'we cannot put up with this kind of violence; we do not want either to merge with Pakistan, or, an independent Kashmir; we would like to be in the mainstream of the Indian national life'.

As you know, in spite of the challenge posed by certain sections, the Amarnath Yatra passed off peacefully. About 70-75,000 people participated in it. There was a threat that people were going to be killed. For this yatra, infrastructure and other facilities were provided. A large number of people performed the yatra. The *ponywalas* and others who were, in fact, totally unemployed, also got some kind of an employment which clearly indicated that in spite of the threat by some sections of the Hurriyat Conference that people were going to be killed, they could not succeed.

About the local administration. We are trying to improve the situation, though I am prepared to admit the fact that we have not succeeded in improving the situation to the extent we wanted. But, at the same time, hon. Members will definitely admit that there is a perceptible change in their attitude. We have been successfully holding meetings at the district level and State level, where grievances are being attended to. There are other committees also where the cases of all those people, whose cases are marginal, are also attended to, and I can say that we have been able to release 4,737 people where they considered that the cases were marginal and they could not be kept in jail. Those cases were attended to by them. What I am trying to emphasize is that people at large are participating in these meetings. About six months before, there were not prepared even to attend the meetings. Now district level meetings and State level meetings are being attended, they are putting forth their grievances and they are also expecting that the Government would come to the rescue of the local people who, in fact, have been suffering for the last five, six years.

Some Members also mentioned about creating a situation in which the migrants should be able to go back. I am in full agreement with them. We are very keen that the migrants should go back. We are trying to cooperate and we are trying to give them all the assistance that they require, provided

they were to take the initiative, go back and live in the Valley. As it is there are 20—25 per cent of the Hundus and they have been living peacefully. There has been no problem there of different communities clashing over this issue. If they were to go back, certainly we would like to encourage it.

I would also like to say that these people should be allowed to exercise their franchise. They have been enrolled as voters. A mechanism has been created to see that they are able to vote in the elections which will be held.

Problems of unemployment were also attended to, and by now, I must say, in the para-military forces, in the local police, Government of India, governmental or non-governmental organizations, we have been able to recruit about 10,400 people. We have also been trying to extend the benefits of the Government of India scheme of self-employment where a large number of people are given loans. The Prime minister's Special Scheme also has been implemented in this area, and by now quite a large number of people have got employment through this process. Besides this, I must say, there is another scheme of the State Government which also provides employment, and 6,000 people have got employment through the State scheme.

About the financial position of Jammu & Kashmir, I must bring it to the notice of the House that the norms of assistance have totally been changed. Now it is 90 per cent grant and 10 per cent loan which is provided for. If you take both Plan and non-Plan schemes together, then this ratio will come to 70:30. And in the schemes for which the Government of India has been providing assistance, the break-up is 90:10.

Sir, a point was made about the special grant which was given to Jammu & Kashmir. This amount of Rs 970 crores had to be given to wipe off all the accumulated deficit. Now, in 1995, for the first time we find that they have peresented a balanced budget without any deficit. And this year we are trying to see that they are able to utilize the entire money for this purpose and, in fact, the expenditure which has been booked under security-related expenditure, has been taken over by the Government of India.

So, the entire burden of the deficit has been reduced, and their Annual Plan is being protected. There is no reason why they should consider that their Plans are not safe. This year, we are providing Rs. 1,050 crores which, in fact, is a very high figure. It is more than 100 per cent of what the Government of India is providing for the Annual Schemes that need to be implemented is those areas.

Sir, hon. Members are correct when they say that a proper atmosphere has to be created in order to attract some entrepreneurs in that area. The basic question is whether we are able to provide the kind of infrastructure which, in fact, is called for. I can say that there are some schemes which are already in operation. Two major hydro-electric stations have been sanctioned. One is the Dulhasti Project, and the other is the Uri Project, for which about Rs. 600 crores are going to be spent. In the Uri Project, one unit is going to be commissioned by June, 1996. About the Dulhasti Project, in fact, I have no reason to have any kind of dissent on this. It has been able to start rather late. It was taken up by a French consortium, and later on, there was some difficulty. They have been able to sort out the entire thing, and they will be starting in a big way. If both these Project are put into operation, I am sure that not only will the entire requirement of Jammu and Kashmir be met but that they will be surplus in power and that they will be able to supply power to other States also.

About railway lines, a railway line from Udhampur to Baramula *via*

Srinagar has been sanctioned by the Railway Ministry. This is going to cost about Rs. 2,500 crores.

Some roads are very badly required. They want a separate approach between Poonch and Sopian. This is what they used to call "the Moghul Road". This has also been sanctioned.

The air-strip at Kargil has also been renovated. They are able to operate the Airbus in that area.

So, I have been giving these examples merely to show that the development projects are also taking good shape. A feeling of confidence and employment has been created so that the people, especially the school generation should have the feeling that they are looked after not only by the State Government but also by the Government of India. That is the situation which, in fact, we are very much interested in creating.

Sir, about the political situation, I am prepared to say that political parties which, in fact, were trying to keep away from the Valley, are now holding rallies in the Valley, and they are well attended. The traditional political parties have been having their meetings, though, in fact, I can say that we are still not satisfied. Many more rallies of this nature will have to be held in that area. The local administration and the local people also should be able to create this kind of an atmosphere in a big way, in which a large number of people should be able to put across their grievances to all those people who will be going to that area. We have been requesting all the political parties to kindly go over to Srinagar and to the Valley, to hold meetings there and to try to find out how best we should be able to create this kind of a situation.

One more factor is about the creation of the Regional Hill council in the Ladakh area. We have created this Council. The elections have been held, and the people have taken up their responsibility to implement all the development schemes in that area. We have made a provision. It is an enabling provision for the Kargil area. I am sure both Leh and Kargil will be able to have this Hill Council.

I have given all these details merely to show how we consider this. Now, there is a definite change in their attitude. The people at large should now be able to play an active role in the voting that we expect from them. Once this process of normalisation were to start, I am sure that we will definitely succeed in creating a situation, where I have no doubt in my mind that there will be no difficulty in holding elections. These are all the issues, which we have put forth before the Election Commission and we wanted that they should now go ahead with the holding of elections. Unfortunately for us, in spite of all the efforts that we have made, it is a very disappointing thing to say that the election Commission has not been able to see things in a proper perspective. If they were to look at a similar kind of a situation that is there in other States, saying that such a conducive atmosphere has to be created for free and fair elections in that area, I am sure we can never succeed in doing that. So long as the instigation is there from Pakistan, and I am sorry to say that it is not only Pakistan, but I am prepared to say this that there are some big powers, world powers, who are behind that entire game,...

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH (Bihar): Can you name them?

SHRI GURDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Who are they?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I have no hesitation in taking the name of America.

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: We are all with you, Mr. Home Minister.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I have no hesitation in naming the country,

because of the fact that the recent history also clearly indicates that they have some evil designs so far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, may I find out from the hon. Minister whether this opinion of the Government will be officially communicated to President Clinton?

The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. Narayanasamy) in the Chair.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: When I am saying this on the floor of the House, I do not feel anything more needs to be done in this matter. I am more than convinced after the amendment of the Pressler Amendment, whereby $370 million worth of arms were to be given to them. First of all Mr. Clinton will have to certify that Pakistan does not have any nuclear weapons capability. With all the conscience will be able to certify, when the Pakistani scientists went to America and on the American soil they have said that they have the nuclear weapons with them that they have the capability of manufacturing the same? With these statements if Mr. Bill Clinton were to certifty that they do not have the capability and that this is one-time exercise, this is another argument. At one time he said that it was for about $370 million or $375 million worth of equipment. I do not know how far it is true. I have read in the papers. It is subject to correction. If what is being reported is correct, today's figure has crossed one billion dollar mark. That means for another three years even one time exception they need not ask. You have to go ahead with this kind of a situation, which in fact is a matter of great concern to us. That is why we have expressed our grave concern to the US Government, that they should not try to create this kind of problem. My appeal, if at all it has to be made, will not be to the Pakistan Government Pakistan and India come from the same stock. We have the same background. If the Pakistan Government does not see the writings on the wall, I can make an appeal to the people of Pakistan. The people of Pakistan should be able to understand the game behind the whole thing. If their Government is, in fact, trying to create a situation in which confrontation between India and Pakistan is continued, the ultimate result will be that both India and Pakistan will have to spend a huge amount of money on defence. Otherwise, we want that this amount is spent for alleviation of poverty in their respective areas. Instead of doing that unilaterally they cannot stop defence expenditure in India. If Pakistan is encouraged, if Pakistan is given all the equipment that they require, then, the only alternative is we cannot keep our eyes shut. We would also in turn have to increase our defence expenditure, whether we like it or not. To that extent, our non-Plan expenditure is bound to increase. All the results which arise out of the increase from the non-Plan expenditure, definitely, will have to be borne by us.

My appeal would be, to the extent possible, let us understand that these people are neither interested in Pakistan nor in India, but they are interested in themeselves. They would like to have a foothold in Jammu and Kashmir and see that they succeed in their game. Every time when we find that there is some kind of change in the attitude of the Kashmiri people, somebody from the United States Government would come over here and make a statement that Kashmir is a disputed territory and thereby instigate all those who are concerned to create a situation wherein we do not succeed in holding elections.

Sir, though the Election Commission has taken a view, there is only one aspect which I would like to bring to the notice of the House and that is about a public interest litigation which has been filed by one Mr. Bheem Singh. But we are also consulting the Ministry of Law and if the situation requires, I have no hesitation in saying that legal action would be taken to see that this kind of a wrong

interpretation is not made and we are able to go ahead with holding of elections. We cannot possibly hold elections on the basis of diktats of Pakistan. We should have our own thinking about it. So long as we are clear in our minds that we should hold elections in that area, I am sure that we would have to create conditions in which legally also it should be possible for us to hold elections and give a representative Government to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. For six years they have been suffering. We would like to restore normalcy in that area and restore the democratic set-up in that state. So, I have done. Thank you.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त: मैं सिर्फ दो मिनट लूंगा, मैं कोई तकरीर नहीं करूंगा दिग्विजय प्लीज। मैं सबसे पहले तो होम मिनिस्टर साहब की तकरीर का जो आखिरी हिस्सा है, मैं सौ फीसदी उस की ताईद करता हूं, अमेरिका के बारे में उन्होंने जो कुछ कहा है हमारी पार्टी उस से बेहद खुश है काश कि आप उस रास्ते पर चलते रहे और मौका-व-मौका अमेरिका के हुक्म के सामने हिन्दुस्तान का सिर न झुकायें। मुझे आपके भाषण के आखिरी हिस्से से इत्तफाक है मगर भाषण के शुरू के हिस्से से मुझे सख्त एतराज है दो-तीन बातों पर। मुख्तसरन् कहना चाहता हूं आपने यूनेनीमिटी की क्या बात कही, क्या हम यहां से यूनेनीमस क्या बात कहें? पोजीशन तो वक्तन-फक्तन आप बदलते रहें। यह हाउस और पिछला हाउस यूनेनीमस रिजोल्यूशन पास करता रहा है, कर चुका है। आप जो हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब का बुरकीनाफासों से बयान था, वह उस रेज्यूलूशन की खिलाफवर्जी करता है, पार्लियामेंट की अथारिटी डाइल्यूट की गई है, तो कौन सी यूनेनीमिटी की मांग की आपने? तो नम्बर एक बात तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं। मुझे सख्ततरीन एतराज हुआ यूनेनीमिट के लफ्ज को इस्तेमाल करने से। यह हाउस और दूसरा हाउस यूनेनीमस रेज्यूलूशन कश्मीर की सिलसिले में पास कर चुका है और भारतीय जनता पार्टी और हम आज भी उस रेज्यूलूशन के साथ मुस्तक्बिल खड़े हुए हैं। दूसरे आपने हमें अपनी कही हुई बात के साथ नेशनलिज्म के सवाल को जोड़ा और मैं क्या कहूं-

"खिरद का नाम जुनूं रख दिया, जुनूं का खिरद
जो चाहे आपका हुस्न-ए-करिश्मा साज़ करे।

मैं क्या कहूं। नामिनंकल्चर की क्या बात कर रहे हैं आप। आपने अलहिदा से दो अल्फाज का और दूसरे हमारे कांस्टिट्यूशन में जो दूसरी स्टेट्स का जिक्र है, अलहदगी का, आपने कश्मीर को उससे मिला दिया? कश्मीर में सदरे रियासत और वजीरे आजम के अल्फाज को पूरे कनवास से जोड़ दिया। 6 वर्षों से वहां आतंकवाद ने अपना सिलसिला चला रखा है। आतंकवाद का सिलसिला वहां तब शुरू हुआ जब वहां चुनी हुई सरकार थी। आपने कनवास में से कौन सी बात निकाली? आपने यह कहा है? सदरे रियासत और वजीरे आजम अल्फाजों को पूरे कैनवास से बाहर निकाल कर बात कहनी, यह सिम्पल बिल्कुल गलत है जो आतंकवादियों को आप दे रहे हैं। उसको हिन्दुस्तान के सूबों के साथ मिलाने का यह कोई तरीका नहीं है।

सदर साहब, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि मुझे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो कहा यूनेनिमिटी, वाइलेशन आफ यूनेनिमस रेजोल्यूशन के बारे में और नेशनलिजल्म की दावेदारी के बारे में, जैसे कि हम लोग जो कहते हैं वह हिन्दुस्तान के नेशनलिज्म के खिलाफ है। मैं मानता हूं कि कि कश्मीर का सवाल हिन्दुस्तान की एकता का सवाल है और खासकर कांग्रेस भी समझे कि हम एकता के सवाल के लिए लड़ रहे हैं। मैं इस पर एतराज करता हूं और हम हाउस से वाक-आउट करते हैं।

(At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber.)

[شری سکندر بخت: میں صرف دو منٹ لونگا۔ میں کوئی تقریر نہیں کرونگا دگ وجے پلیز۔ میں سب سے پہلے تو ہوم منسٹر صاحب کی تقریر کا جو آخری حصہ ہے۔ میں سو فیصدی کی تائید کرتا ہوں۔ امریکہ کے بارے میں انھوں نے جو کچھ کہا ہے ہماری پارٹی اس سے بیحد خوش ہے کاش کہ آپ اس راستے پر چلتے رہیں اور موقع بہ موقع امریکہ کے حکم کے سامنے ہندوستان کا سر نہ جھکائیں۔ مجھے آپکے بھاشن کے آخری حصہ سے اتفاق ہے۔ مگر بھاشن کے شروع کے حصہ سے مجھے سخت اعتراض

[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

رکھا ہے - آتنکوادکا سلسلہ وہاں تب
شروع ہوا جب وہاں چنی ہوئی سرکار
تھی - آپنے کنوا اس میں سے کونسی بات
کہی - آپنے یہ کہا ہے - صدر ریاست
وزیر اعظم الفاظ کو پورے کنوا اس
سے باہر نکال کر بات کہنی - یہ سگنل بالکل
غلط ہے - جو آتنکوادیوں کو آپ دے رہے
ہیں - اسکو ہندوستان کے صوبوں کے
ساتھ ملانے کا یہ کوئی طریقہ نہیں ہے -
صدر صاحب - میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں
مجھے ہوم منسٹر صاحب نے جو کہا یونیٹی
انٹیگریشن آف یونیٹی مسس رزولیوشن
کے بارے میں اور نیشنلزم کی دعویداری
کے بارے میں جیسے کہ ہم لوگ جو کہتے
ہیں - وہ ہندوستان کے نیشنلزم کے
خلاف ہے - میں مانتا ہوں کہ کشمیر کا
سوال ہندوستان کی ایکتا کا سوال ہے
اور خاص کر کانگریس بھی سمجھتی ہے کہ ہم
ایکتا کے سوال کے لئے لڑ رہے ہیں - میں
اس پر اعتراض کرتا ہوں اور ہم ہاؤس
سے واک آؤٹ کرتے ہیں -]

SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala): Sir, the totality of the situation was put more or less correctly. May I put a question? Since the United States have come out in the open....(*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Order, please.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: They have violated the assurance they have given to us that the arrangement they had was a one time arrangement. Now they have decided to supply arms worth one billion dollars to Pakistan, to threaten India. Will the Government of India come out with a resolution or make a disapproval

ہے - دو تین باتوں پر مختصراً کہنا چاہتا
ہوں آپنے یونیٹی مٹی کی کیا بات کہی -
کیا ہم یہاں سے یونیٹی مسس بات کہیں -
آپ پوزیشن تو وقتاً فوقتاً بدلتے رہیں
یہ ہاؤس اور پچھلا ہاؤس یونیٹی مسس
رزولیوشن پاس کرتا رہا ہے - ترچکا ہے -
آپ جو ہمارے پرائم منسٹر صاحب کا
بریکنگ خاصہ سے بیان تھا - وہ اس
رزولیوشن کی خلاف ورزی کرتا ہے -
پارلیمنٹ کی اتھارٹی ڈیلیوٹ کی گئی
ہے تو کون سی یونیٹی مٹی کی مانگ کی
آپنے - تو ہمارا ایک بات تو میں یہ کہنا چاہتا
ہوں اور مجھے سخت ترین اعتراض ہوا
یونیٹی مٹی کے لفظ کو استعمال کرنے کے -
یہ ہاؤس اور دوسرا ہاؤس یونیٹی مسس
رزولیوشن کشمیر کے سلسلہ میں پاس کر
چکا ہے - اور بھارتیہ جنتا پارٹی اور ہم
آج بھی اس رزولیوشن کے ساتھ مستقل
کھڑے ہوئے ہیں - دوسرے آپنے اپنی ہی
ہوئی بات کے ساتھ نیشنلزم کو جوڑا
اور میں کیا کہوں:

خود کا تماشہ جنوں رکھدیا جنوں کا خود
جو چاہے آپکا حسن کرشمہ ساز کرے -

دوسرا ہے کہ: مہربانی فرما کر شعر تحریر فرمادیں -
میں کیا کہوں - نامنکلچر کی کیا بات کر
رہے ہیں آپنے علیحدہ سے دو لفظ کا اور
دوسرے ہمارے کانسٹی ٹیوشن میں جو
دوسری اسٹیٹ کا ذکر ہے - علیحدگی کا
آپنے کشمیر کو اس سے ملا دیا - کشمیر میں
صدر ریاست اور وزیر اعظم کے الفاظ
کو پورے کنوا اس سے جوڑ دیا - ہاں ورشن
ہے وہاں آتنکوادنے اپنا سلسلہ چلا

of the policy of the Government of United States towards India? The Government of India should come out with a resolution or should declare that this act of the United States is against India and we disapprove of it and protest against it. This kind of a statement or some suitable statement may be made by the Government and it should be unanimously approved by this Parliament.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I have already made that....(*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman,....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): I have to call Mr. Malaviya. He requested earlier.

श्री सत्य प्रकार मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जम्मू-कश्मीर में चुनाव कराये जाने के बारे में राज्यपाल महोदय वहां के थे, केन्द्रीय सरकार का एक व्यू था और विपक्ष का दूसरा व्यू था। लेकिन इस पर विचार करने के बाद इलेक्शन कमीशन ने एक निर्णय लिया और उस सिलसिले में एक पब्लिक इंटरेस्ट लिटीगेशन भी सुप्रीम कोर्ट में पेंडिंग है जिस पर गृह मंत्री ने कहा कि वे न्याय विभाग की राय ले रहे हैं और कार्यवाही करेंगे। लेकिन मेरा प्रश्न यह है कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जो पब्लिक लिटीगेशन है वह एक अलग सवाल है लेकिन क्या सरकार इस बात पर विचार कर रही है कि इलेक्शन कमीशन को ही कन्विंस करे कि सरकार वहां पर क्यों चुनाव कराना चाहती है और उन्होंने जब यह फैसला लिया था कि उसमें एक महीना बीत चुका है इसलिए इस पर विचार करें। मेरा यह प्रश्न है कि क्या सरकार यह इरादा रखती है कि वह इलेक्शन कमीशन को कन्विंस करे कि जो सरकार का फैसला है उस पर इलेक्शन कमीशन रिव्यू करे, पुनर्विचार करे?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I compliment the hon. Minister of Home Affairs for making a very straightforward statement on America. The Indian Government had not been making such a statement in the past. I would like to know from him whether it has any significance. We consider America to be unfriendly towards India. While this is the situation, just at this point of time, our defence is getting integrated with America. We are having joint manoeuvres, we are having joint delegations, we are having joint conferences. This is a serious matter. If you allow the Americans to have a peep into our defence, that may be dangerous for us in view of their role in Kashmir. My second question is this.

5.00 PM

We are ready to support the Government of India in its attempt for restoring normalcy, holding elections and making everything possible. We would like to give you all our support, but are you ready to tell us that on important questions there will not be a unilateral move but instead, you will be moving on the basis of a general consensus? The statement that was made by the hon. Prime Minister—he thought it fit to make the statement from outside the country—was unilateral and we were not consulted. In view of the fact that there is a broad agreement, in view of the fact that we would like to unitedly fight with America and also in view of the fact that we would like to support you in restoring normalcy in Kashmir, will you give up your policy of unilateral decisions and try to follow a policy of general consensus among different parties who are in the Opposition?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Shri Digvijay Singh. I do not want to open the debate.

श्री दिग्विजय सिंह: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं तो गृह मंत्री जी को बधाई दे रहा हूं कि आज पहली बार हम सारे लोगों को लगा कि भारत का गृह मंत्री 90 करोड़ लोगों की तरफ से बोल रहा है और सचमुच इससे हमारा दिल बड़ा हुआ है। सरकार ऐसी नीति पर आगे चलती रहे। कश्मीर के बारे में मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहूंगा कि लोग आज कश्मीर के बारे में यह माहौल बना रहे हैं एक तरफ तो देश के अन्दर भी धारा 370 को लेकर, यहां थोड़ा बताने की जरूरत है क्योंकि मैं देख रहा हूं कि देशभर में यह भ्रम फैल रहा है कि इसी देश में दो प्रधान मंत्री...यह एक ऐतिहासिक समझौते का हिस्सा है यह बात देश के लोगों को पता

नहीं किस हालात में हम कश्मीर को या वहां के वजीर-आज़म को या वहां के सदरे रियासत को ये हैसियत दे रहे हैं। एक तो सरकार यह कोशिश करे कि जो सरकार के इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर मौजूद हैं, देश के लोगों को समझाने की कोशिश हो, बताने के रास्ते निकाले जाएं कि यह एक ऐतिहासिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में यह बात कही जा रही है। दूसरी बात है, यदि इलेक्शन आप वहां कराना चाहते हैं तो सारे लोग आपके साथ हैं। मुझे यह बात समझ में नहीं आती कि इलैक्शन कमीशन ने कैसे यह बात कही। कश्मीर का मामला अलग है, यह इलैक्शन कमीशन नहीं समझता कि जैसे और राज्यों की स्थिति है वैसी हालत कश्मीर की कभी नहीं हो सकती है, जहां तक चुनाव का सवाल है। इसलिए कोशिश यह की जाए कि फिर से इलैक्शन-कमीशन को सारी बातों को बताकर देश की तमाम राजनीतिक पार्टियों का एक राजनीतिक माहौल बनाया जाए। मैंने पहले भी कहा था कि जब तक लोगों को विश्वास में नहीं लेंगे, इलैक्शन एनाउन्समेंट करने से कुछ नहीं होगा। इसलिए अगर दोनों काम एक साथ किए जाएं तो मुझे लगता है कि कश्मीर का निदान आप बहुत जल्द ही निकाल पाएंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Dr. Biplab Dasgupta. Kindly be brief.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I am sure that the statement made by the Home Minister will lead to a significant appreciation in the political currency. I find that our friends in BJP both appreciated and depreciated it. First they congratulated the Minister like us and then walked out of the House! So there was both appreciation and depreciation, but in any case, I am worried about one thing, whether the Minister, before this very important statement, has consulted the entire Cabinet or not, because I would not like him to become a victim of the next Cabinet reshuffle! And I am very worried about him. I assume that he has consulted Manmohanji and also Pranab Babu; Manmohanji in particular because he cannot have both economic integration and political dissociation. If America has evil designs, those evil designs would be relating not only to Kashmir but also to the Indian economy as a whole. He has to give one hour lesson to Manmohanji, I mean about the evil designs of America so that he can understand th implications of economic integration wit the United States....(*Interruptions*)...

THE MINISTER OF FINANCI (SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH): This ha the approval of Jyoti Babu also.

DR. BIPLAB DAS GUPTA: Now am also not sure whether the Hom Minister's late realisation is a politica gimmick or not because the election coming very near. Maybe, it is because some popular issues. Maybe, they hav an idea that there will be a hun Parliament; maybe, later on there will b an NFLF Government. Maybe, he telling all this to us; I do not know th truth. Maybe, he is keeping the optio still open. That is also possible. If that the case, that will be unfortunate. I hop that even after the electio ....(*Interruptions*)... What I am saying this. I do not know whether Chavanji addressing it to us by keeping in mind th possibilities after the elections or no but still I congratulate him becau he has very boldly, in a ver straighforward manner and in a outspoken manner, come out wi something that the External Affai Ministry should have done much earli and which has not been done earlie So I very much appreciate it coming fro the Home Minister, which should ha come from the External Affairs Minist nor from the Defence Minister nor fro the Prime Minister. But I want to gi him one warning. The casualness wi which the Government went about th elections in Kashmir last time, th should not be there. If you want to ta it seriously, please be serious. Talk them. Talk to them with all t seriousness at your command. Don't lo at the watches. Don't meet leades political parties on the eve of boarding plane. That is not the way. They shou be consulted. All the political parties the Parliament will support you. For about the BJP. There are other parti Consult them; take their advice; evolv national consensus.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): The BJP has supported their economic policies at the very early stage.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: If they want to become part of the consultation that is fine. You don't forget them. You try to bring a political consensus. If possible, Sir, let us have a resolution approved in this Parliament—overnments may come and Governments may go; but the sovereignty of the people of India is expressed through the Parliament—that the people of India want Kashmir to have devolution of power to have fair election, to have full participation in the democratic process. That message should go to the people of Kashmir.

SHRI JAGMOHAN (Nominated): Sir I had mentioned during my speech a few facts. They have not been dealt with. I will not repeat all of them. But I would like to mention two or three of them.

The Cabinet took a decision on 4th November, 1995 indicating its desire to have elections in Kashmir. That intention was duly communicated to the Election Commission. Now is it a fact that after the Cabinet had indicated this, on 7th November and on 9th November, that is, subsequent to the Cabinet decision two special reports were sent to the Election Commission indicating the position? The Election Commission took those reports into account while expressing its opinion. I would like to know whether this is a fact or not. What was the compulsion for the Government to send two special reports on 7th and 9th November after the Cabinet had communicated its formal intention to the Election Commission?

Secondly, I had mentioned that Dr. Farooq Abdullah announced that he was not going to participate in the elections. Is it a fact that.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Digvijay Singh, kindly do not disturb. He is speaking.

SHRI JAGMOHAN:.....after Dr. Farooq Abdullah's decision not to participate in the elections saying that the gun culture still prevails, the Governor also told the Election Commission that elections should not be held? Now these two points are very pertinent.

The third point which I want to mention is that the Election Commission has communicated its views to the Government or the Governor on the 10th of November. We are now on the 4th of December. If the Government wants to challenge this decision, why does it take so long to challenge it, particularly when it is based on the fact that the Government's assessment is not correct? I have today put a question where I have given all the figures of 1995 which showed the highest number of killings, the highest number of abductions, etc. I know that it is not possible to have normal condition there; it is not possible to have an ideal condition there. But it is necessary that the condition should be reasonable. Today I have got a reply to an Unstarred Question which I put. According to that—these are Government figures and not *akbari* figures—during the last three months, 743 persons have been killed in Kashmir. One hundred and sixty-four persons have been abducted in Kashmir after the hostage incident, and 57 of them have been killed. Two hundred and sixty explosions have taken place including three serious mine explosions. The security forces have been attacked 769 times. Now in the context of these figures, how do you reconcile what you have observed?

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Sir, at the outset, I would say that whatever statement I made, I made it with a full sense of responsibility. Without understanding it I don't think you can ascribe any kind of motive to me.

Sir, the Leader of the Opposition is not here. I don't know whether it is proper for me to reply to the debate in his absence. But to put the record straight, I

must say that whatever Dr. Farooq Abdullah said about the Resolution which was unanimously passed by both the Houses of Parliament, is not the thinking of the Government in the matter. So, let him not unnecessarily create an impression that there was some kind of a contradiction and that we are going to accept this or that position. Of course, we have still not made up our mind on that issue. Whatever he said about the Government's position is not borne out by facts.

So far as the nomenclature and other provisions in the Constitution are concerned, it is for all the hon. Members to go through them. If there is a peculiar political background, we have to make special provisions. So, if in the case of Jammu and Kashmir some special provisions have to be made to achieve a definite objective which we have in our view, what is wrong in it? In other cases you are prepared to concede that special provisions should be made. But in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, when it is only a change in the nomenclature, you are objecting to it. I do not find any logic behind these two. But our mind is very clear on this issue. There is nothing wrong in it. We should have accepted the same thing earlier. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi made these statements. What the Prime Minister stated is more important then whether it should be called an agreement or an accord. The then Prime Minister made this statement on the floor of the House and then Shrimati Indira Gandhi also made this statement. They said that the change in the nomenclature should be accepted. So, we are not saying it for the first time.

Then an hon. Member wanted to know whether the Government was going to follow the same policy. The hon. Leader of the Opposition asked, "Instead of taking the decision unilaterally, will the Government take the decision on the basis of a consensus which is developed?" Dr. Biplab Dasgupta also made the same point. There are certain issues which we have to discuss with the Leaders of the Opposition. If we discuss certain issues with the leaders of the Opposition, the very next day we find in the newspapers where they say, "This is what we discussed". So, that loses all the sanctity. That is why we have to keep certain issues with us. Later on when things are decided, we can publicise the same. If we publicise them before that, it does more harm than good. So our intentions are very clear. We do not want to hide anything from the hon. Members. But the difficulty is, especially on the eve of the elections, everybody would like to say, "This is what we have pleaded. This is what we have done." That kind of a situation in this case will be highly detrimental to the interests of the country as a whole. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Even the decisions of the Cabinet came out. I have seen reports in the newspapers which say that Manmohan Singh proposed something, somebody else proposed something, etc. Even Cabinet decisions have come out. If leakage becomes a point for whitholding consultations, it is unfortunate. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I am not against consultations. We would like to consult you on important issues. But there are certains issues which we cannot possibly discuss with the leaders of the Opposition. You have to kindly bear this in mind.

Shri Digvijay Singh said that systematic efforts were being made by some interested parties to create an atmosphere in order to put the unity of the country at stake. Sadar-i-Riyasat and Wazir-e-Azam, we may have to call them. There will be two Prime Ministers and there are two other things that they are saying. Certainly this will be done. We will take special note of this and will request the I&B Ministry to put this before the people. If necessary, we can also have some kind of a symposium on the TV so that everybody is able to understand the implications of the offer that we have

made. Shri Jagmohan said something. Of course, he is on a different point altogether. He was quoting the number of killings that took place. There are other figures also which clearly show that the incidence has come done. We do not claim that violence will not be there. It is not our case at all. On the other hand, I am saying openly that Pakistan is going to encourage more violence when we go in for elections. Because there is going to be violence, are we going to avoid having elections in that area? We have taken a bold decision that, in spite of that, we are going to hold elections. Let them do what they want to do. We cannot possibly say that we are going to concede what Pakistan has to say and not allow elections to be held. These were the few points which I thought I should clarify.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, after devaluation and the Kashmir issue, we are exhausted, kindly adjourn the House.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: Sir, adjourn the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): In the Business Advisory Board meeting, you had decided to sit up to 6 P.M.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Normally we agree to sit. But we are exhausted today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): We will take up the other business tomorrow. The House is now adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at seventeen minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 5th December, 1995.